I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market. 327

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jáin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25, according to size and texture. These cloths are the handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it. 288 [162] [435] [462]

race, so that once in every year a sacrifice 443
can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will 782
live happily and be healthy and increase in numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets will enjoy progress and success, and the children of the kingdom will spread out and increase in thy name and to thy honor."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyngdoh rangbah) pours rice liquor (ka kiad um) out of a gourd bottle (u klong) onto the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka blei jeu lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop,mo (is it not so)!" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi"/Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi/, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien"/Proceedings of the Vienna Anthroplogical Society/, Vol. LIV (1924).

/704/ Among the Khasi, the women /The Market 443
Personnel/ are so in the majority among the 462●
selling personnel that it is tempting to consider them the founders of the markets. Since provisions form the chief articles of the market, and these are grown by the women, this may be the reason why the woman dominates the market. The masculine element certainly participates actively in the market, but only dealing in such articles as belong to him specially, such as dishes of iron which he has made or goats and sheep which he has raised. Although the men as an average only go to

443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
462 view, (3) hat they would consider market busi-

3 P.C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1911, No. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity, if they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and shameful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Wares

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
438 Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (khau), dried fish (doh kha), potatoes (phan), sugar cane (u pai), an edible root which is eaten raw (u son phlang; botanical name: flemingia vestita Benth); Job's tears (u soh rieu; botanical: name coix lachryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai soh, botanical name: setreria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum sanguinale); spadix millet (u 'rai truh, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two kinds: (u rymbai ja, botanical name: paseolus

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 361
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the
memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the
wares. But in many places there are also
market halls or market huts. These are
simple halls, open on all sides, made with a
framework of bamboo poles and a roof of
straw or palm leaves. The market huts or
market halls are built with square corners
and have gabled roofs. They offer the women
sellers protection from the sun or rain only,
but no other comforts. Neither tables nor
chairs nor other arrangements for displaying
wares are there. On the side where the wind
blows these market halls are often covered
with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 462●
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can
be recognized at every market. This division
could be called a division according to sex.
In the middle the food stuffs are usually
sold which the women take care of. Utensils
and cattle which are the business of the men,
are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a
definite arrangement to the market which is
taken for granted by the Khasi: in the middle
the women, outside the men (there is a similar
order for the dance: in the middle the feminine
sex, outside the masculine sex). The indivi-
dual types of wares hav[illegible]7077 their definite
places, although individual sellers are not
assigned definite places.

The women settle down at any place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the
market. They spread out in front of them the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sen)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 593 602 613 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

From the above table it is seen that the proportion of earners in the Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 39 per cent, 48 per cent and 55 per cent of the corresponding total population. Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent. Thus the burden of dependency is not very heavy in the district. This is because of the fact that men, women and adolescents all join the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic works is few. Only in big families having a number of women, one or two of them are engaged in domestic works, otherwise the Khasi women attend to the domestic works in addition to their work in the field.

From table C 5·1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 4·7 per cent, 7.8 per cent and 10.2 per cent of the earners in Border area, Project area and General area are below 15 years of age.

5·6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

Persons working for pay or profit on one day during a period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last 30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his protracted illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial disputes or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

with the exception of the
326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing pur-
452 poses does not obtain in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The total
434 value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between £2000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tezpát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;